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## STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. Stratton.<sup>1</sup>

## DENTAL TERMINATIONS II. 1

Words in -ās, αντος<sup>2</sup>

BY CARL D. BUCK

Words in  $-\bar{\alpha}s$ ,  $-\alpha\nu\tau\sigma s^2$  comprise a small group of verbal adjectives formed with  $-\nu\tau$ - or  $-\tau$ -, a few substantives of miscellaneous character, and a considerable number of proper names, personal, geographical, and ethnic.

1. Words formed with -ντ-.—The clearest examples are from dissyllabic bases, either in a dissyllabic form, as ἀνδροδάμας, etc., from -δαμα-ντ (cf. ἐδάμασα, πανδαμάτωρ), ἀκάμας from -καμα-ντ-(cf. κάματος), τάλας from ταλα-ντ-³ (cf. ἐτάλασσα, ταλαεργός), or in a monosyllabic form, as πολύτλας, ἄτλας, from -τλα-ντ-, this from τλα- (cf. ἔτλην) with the regular vowel shortening before ντ.

The suffix is that which has its principal seat in the active participles, but which also occurs, in Greek and elsewhere, in words detached from the regular verbal system, as  $\delta\delta o b s$ ,  $\delta\delta b \nu \tau o s$ , Lat.  $d\bar{e}ns$ , dentis, or  $\gamma \dot{\epsilon} \rho \omega \nu$ , Skt. jarant. The passive force which must be assumed for  $\dot{a}\delta\dot{a}\mu a s$  as applied to a hard metal ('unconquered'), and likewise for the (earlier) proper name ' $\dot{A}\delta\dot{a}\mu a s$ , is noteworthy. But the active force would be less insistently felt in this type than in the regular participles, and  $\dot{a}\kappa\dot{a}\mu a s$ , properly intransitive 'untiring' but equivalent to 'unwearied,' may have been a special factor in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Introductory Note, CP. 5. 323 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Exclusive of a orist and other participles belonging to the regular verb-system, and also of contracted forms of -αεις, -αεντος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The stem  $\tau a\lambda a\nu \tau$ -, usually replaced by  $\tau a\lambda a\nu$ -, is attested by Choeroboscus 1.268.33, quoting from Hipponax ( $\tau \dot{a}\lambda a\nu \tau \iota$ ) and Callimachus ( $a\dot{\iota}\nu \sigma \dot{a}\lambda a\nu \tau a$ ). Hom.  $\tau \dot{a}\lambda a\nu \tau a$  'scales' is a neuter plural of this stem, to which was formed later the o-stem singular  $\tau \dot{a}\lambda a\nu \tau o\nu$ . Cf. Kretschmer, Glotta 3. 266 ff., Solmsen IF. 31. 497 ff.

An uncertain example of this type is εὐρυκόας Hesych., beside εὐρυκόων. If correct, it presumably has ντ-inflection and points to -κορα-ντ-. Cf. ἐκόαμες Hesych. [CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY XVI, January, 1921] 51

the use of  $\dot{a}\delta\dot{a}\mu\alpha s$ . Note also the coexistence of active and passive meaning in the verbal adjectives formed with  $-\tau$ -, as  $-\beta\lambda\eta s$  (CP. 12.174).

The pronoun  $\pi \hat{a}s$ , stem  $\pi a \nu \tau$ -, is, according to its most probable explanation (Brugmann, Totalitat 61), a similar formation from IE.  $\hat{k}w\bar{a}$ - 'swell' (Skt.  $cv\bar{a}$ -, Gr.  $\kappa i\omega$ ), the semantic development being from 'swelling, swollen' to 'full, whole.' Besides the well-known intensive compounds  $\ddot{a}\pi as$ ,  $\sigma \dot{\nu}\mu\pi as$ ,  $\pi \rho \dot{\sigma}\pi as$ , we find also Boeot.  $\ddot{\epsilon}\mu\pi as$ , IG. 7. 2712. 19, and Cret.  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi i\pi as$ , SGDI. 4983, 5026, 5039. With the latter compare also  $\dot{a}\nu \dot{a}\pi as$ , i.e.  $\dot{a}\nu \dot{a}-\pi as$ , Anth. P. 7. 343.

- 2. Words formed with  $-\tau$ -.—The stem of inalphi as is to be analyzed as  $\kappa\nu\delta a\nu$ - $\tau$ -, formed from the verb-stem of  $\kappa\nu\delta ai\nu\omega$  with the same  $-\tau$  which is in Greek most commonly added to root-forms ending in  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\eta$ , or  $\omega$ , as in  $\pi\rho\rho\delta\lambda\dot{\eta}s$ , etc. (CP. 12. 174). Words of this type may have active or passive force, and inalphi  $\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\dot{\nu}\delta as$ , in the passages of Homer and Hesiod where it occurs, is not passive ('exceeding renowned,' L. & S.), but active 'boasting,' cf. Brugmann, IF. 11. 291 ff. The same stem appears in  $K\dot{\nu}\delta as$ , Cret.  $K\dot{\nu}\delta a\nu s$ , and examples of the same formation are seen in other proper names, as  $K\dot{\epsilon}\rho\delta as$  ( $\kappa\epsilon\rho\delta ai\nu\omega$ ), 'Oνόμαs ( $\dot{o}\nu\rho\mu ai\nu\omega$ ),  $\Pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\nu}\phi as$  ( $\phi ai\nu\omega$ ), etc. So possibly  $\Gamma\dot{\nu}\gamma as$ , rarely appellative  $\gamma\dot{\nu}\gamma as$ , from a \* $\gamma\dot{\nu}\gamma\gamma a\nu as$ , if it has  $\nu\tau$ -inflection, is from  $\gamma\dot{\nu}\gamma\gamma\rho ai\nu\omega$  implied by  $\gamma\dot{\nu}\gamma\gamma\rho a\nu\tau\dot{\alpha}$ .
- 3. Miscellaneous substantives.—Under this head are grouped a series of words the analysis of which requires discussion for each individual case, though some of them are attributable to one of the two foregoing types.

 $i\mu\dot{a}s$  is related to OE.  $s\bar{\imath}ma$  'band, rope,' Skt.  $s\bar{\imath}man$ - 'part in the hair, boundary,' for which \* $i\mu\omega\nu$  (cf.  $i\mu\nu\nu\dot{a}$ ) is the equivalent to be expected in Greek. Brugmann, IF. 11. 293 ff., assumes a derivative \* $i\mu\dot{a}i\nu\omega$  'provide with a band, fasten,' whence  $i\mu\dot{a}\nu$ - $\tau$ -(like  $\kappa\nu\delta\dot{a}\nu$ - $\tau$ - from  $\kappa\nu\delta\dot{a}i\nu\omega$ ), which then like many other agentnouns was applied to a material object (cf. Eng. fastener), so that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The evidence rests solely on the passage of Amphis quoted in Ath. 175, where Kaibel now reads  $τ \dot{ο}ν γ i γ γ ρ αν γ ε$  (MS γ i γ γ ρ αν τ ε), while Meineke, Fr. Com. Gr., following Dindorf, reads  $τ \dot{ο}ν γ i γ γ ρ αν τ α$ .

it came to have the same meaning as, and displaced the original noun from which the assumed  $^*i\mu\alpha i\nu\omega$  was formed. Instead of following this available but circuitous route, one must prefer, if possible, to see in  $i\mu\alpha\nu\tau$ - a simple extension of the original *n*-stem noun (cf.  $\chi\dot{a}\rho\iota\tau$ - beside  $\chi\dot{a}\rho\iota$ -, Skt. harit- beside hari-, and  $s\bar{\imath}manta$ -beside  $s\bar{\imath}man$ -). The obvious difficulty, namely that from an inherited by-form with t-extension one would get  $^*i\mu\nu\tau$ - or  $^*i\mu\alpha\tau$ -, may be overcome by assuming a prehistoric but specifically Greek extension on the basis of an antevocalic weak form  $^*i\mu\alpha\nu$ - (e.g., gen. sg.  $^*i\mu\alpha\nu\sigma$ s).

ὀκρίβαs, κιλλίβαs, λυκάβαs, ἀλίβαs.—These rare and difficult words have the appearance of belonging together, and for the first three derivation from  $\beta a l \nu \omega$  is commonly assumed.  $\delta \kappa \rho l \beta a s$  is a technical term for (1) a platform from which actors declaimed, (2) the buskin with very thick soles worn by actors to increase the stature, (3) the painter's easel, (4) some part of a chariot, and other kinds of supports or "risers." For all these uses the old derivation from  $\delta \kappa \rho \iota s$  and  $\delta a l \nu \omega$  is satisfactory. Only  $\delta \kappa \rho \iota s$  represents an adjective, originally 'sharp, pointed' (cf.  $\delta \kappa \rho \delta s$ , Lat.

¹ Plat. Symp. 194b: ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὁκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. Schol. ὁκρίβαντα τὸ λογεῖον ἐφ' οὖ οἱ τραγωδοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο. τινὲς δὲ κιλλίβαντα τρισκελῆ φασιν, ἐφ' οὖ ἴσταντο οἱ ὑποκριταί.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Philostr. vit. Apoll. 5.9; 6.10; vit. Sophist. 1.9. Themist. Orat. 316d; Et. Mag. s.v.; Hesych. δκρίβαντας ἐμβάτας

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Poll. 7. 129; 10. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Phot., Suid., Hesych.: ὀκρίβας· σχημα (οτ ὄχημα) ἡνιόχου. Obscure.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Suid. καὶ τὰ ὑπερείσματα τῶν ξυλίνων θεάτρων.

 $\bar{\alpha}cer$ , etc.), whence 'projecting, high, raised,' and the question arises whether  $-\beta a\nu \tau$ - is to be analyzed as  $-\beta a-\nu \tau$ - from  $\beta \bar{\alpha}$ - of  $\xi \beta \eta \nu$ , or as  $-\beta a\nu -\tau$ - from  $\beta a\nu$ - of  $\beta ai\nu \omega$ . The latter is to be preferred, since the suffix t occurs in nouns of action (cf.  $\delta ais$ , Skt. stut- 'praise') as well as in those of agency, and the transfer from action to place would be parallel to that seen in  $\beta \hat{\eta} \mu a$  and  $\beta \dot{\alpha} \sigma \iota s$ .

κιλλίβαs is likewise a technical term for various kinds of stands and supports, e.g., a stand for shields, table-base or three-legged table, part of a chariot-frame, supports for a platform, part of an engine of war, and a painter's easel. It is derived from κίλλος 'ass,' which might without change in form be used for a stand or support, like Eng. horse, easel = Ger. Esel, Ger. Bock, or, in a diminutive form, Fr. chevalet. From both the formal and semantic point of view, κιλλίβαs is best understood, not as the result of independent composition, but as formed from κίλλος, in its transferred sense, on the analogy of ὀκρίβαs, which is so closely allied in meaning.

λυκάβαs in Hom. Od. 14. 161 = 19. 306 denotes a fixed period of time, presumably 'year,'8 as it was certainly understood by the late writers9 who used the word in imitation of Homer. The most reasonable analysis, despite objections and rival suggestions, 10 is  $\lambda \nu \kappa \alpha - \beta \alpha \nu \tau$  'light-course.' The second element is  $-\beta \alpha \nu - \tau$  as a noun of action (see above), and the first contains the weak grade of

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Ach. 1122, κιλλίβαντες ἀσπίδος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Schol. Aristoph., loc. cit.; Hesych.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Poll. 1. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Athen. 208c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Bito de Mach. 110, 111 (= Wescher, Poliorcétique des Grecs, 58, 59).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Poll. 7. 129; 10. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hesych. s.v. Poll. 7. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Stengel, *Hermes* 18. 304 ff., argues that the meaning in Homer is not 'year' but 'month.'

<sup>9</sup> Ap. Rh., Bion, late metrical inscriptions, and coins. See L. & S.

<sup>10</sup> Johansson, Beitr. z. gr. Sprachkunde 16 ff., objects that  $-\beta a\nu \tau$ - "kann unmöglich 'gang' bedeuten" and could only have participial force (but see above), and analyzes  $\lambda \nu \kappa$ - $\alpha$ - $\beta$ - $a\nu \tau$ - with a succession of suffixes. Fick, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1894, 240, followed by Bechtel, Lexilogus 218, analyzes  $\lambda \nu \kappa$ - $\alpha \beta \alpha s$ , referring to Hesychius' gloss  $\delta \beta \alpha$ -  $\tau \rho o \chi o s$  ( $\tau \rho \delta \chi o s$ ). But if Fick's further identification of  $\delta \beta \alpha$  with late Lac.  $\delta \beta \delta \alpha$  and the corresponding gloss  $\delta \gamma \gamma h$ :  $\delta \omega \mu \eta$ , in which  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  stand for  $\beta$ , is accepted, it can have nothing to do with a Homeric  $\lambda \nu \kappa \delta \beta \alpha s$ .

λευκ- in λευκόs, etc. (cf. ἀμφιλύκη, etc.), with ἄ, which is paralleled in 'Αλκά-θοος, Hom.  $\theta$ υράωρός.

άλίβαs is a rare expression for 'corpse,' also used for 'vinegar' ('dead wine').1 The popular etymology of the ancients (cf. the quotations from Plutarch) is hardly the true one, and takes no account of the  $\nu\tau$ -inflection. The probable analysis is  $\dot{a}\lambda\iota-\beta a\nu\tau$ -, even though the first element may remain obscure. The supposed evidence for initial long vowel (L. & S., cf. Lobeck, Prol. 289) is illusory (cf. Schneider, Callim. 2. 253). Without such specific evidence, or any reason to suppose the word is not Attic-Ionic, short a is more probable, and this is implied by the ancient popular etymology. The latter also supports the traditional smooth breathing, although a rival etymology is given in Et. Mag.: άλιβάντας τοὺς ἐν θαλάσση τελευτήσαντας. On the whole perhaps the most plausible connection is with ἠλίβατος in the sense of 'deep, abysmal' (ἄντρω ἐν ἡλιβάτω, etc.), as suggested by Adam, Republic of Plato 1. 132. Only we should not assume  $\dot{a}\lambda \iota = \dot{\eta}\lambda \iota$ . but ἀλι- beside ἡλι-, with vowel gradation.

 $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\phi$ as, in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar used only in the sense of 'ivory,' from Herodotus on for the 'elephant,' is believed to contain an element which is seen also in Latin *ebur* and which in both cases is borrowed from Egyptian or Semitic (cf. Egypt.  $\bar{a}b$  'ivory,' etc. See Schrader *Reallexicon* 180, and for the preceding  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda$ - the suggestion of Osthoff, *Parerga* 281). There is nothing in the foreign origin to explain the stem in  $-a\nu\tau$ -, which must be due to the analogy of some Greek word, very likely  $\dot{a}\delta\dot{a}\mu as$ , which the ivory rivaled in hardness.

The Sicilian coin-names  $\delta \iota \xi \hat{a}s$ ,  $\tau \rho \iota \hat{a}s$ ,  $\tau \rho \iota \xi \hat{a}s$ ,  $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho \hat{a}s$ ,  $\dot{\epsilon} \xi \hat{a}s$ , are formed on the model of Italic denominations of the type represented

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Plat. Rep. 387c: οὐκοῦν ἔτι καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα ὀνόματα πάντα τὰ δεινά τε καὶ φοβερὰ ἀποβλητέα, κωκυτούς τε καὶ στύγας καὶ ἐνέρους καὶ ἀλίβαντας, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τούτου τοῦ τύπου ὀνομαζόμενα φρίττειν δὴ ποιεῖ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

Plut. Mor. 736a: ὁ δ' ἀλίβας καὶ ὁ σκελετὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς λέγονται, λοιδορουμένης τῷ ὁνόματι τῆς ξηρότητος. Ibid., 956a: ἀμέλει τοὺς ἀποθανόντας 'ἀλίβαντας' καλοῦσιν ὡς ἐνδεεῖς 'λιβάδος' τουτέστιν ὑγρότητος.

Callim. fr. 88:  $\xi \eta \eta \xi a \nu$  olov  $\dot{a}\lambda l \beta a \nu \tau a$   $\pi l \nu o \nu \tau \epsilon s$  (=01  $\dot{a}\lambda l \beta a \nu \tau a$   $\pi l \nu o \nu \tau \epsilon s$ . Cf. Schneider, Callim. 2. 253).

Orion 30. 15 (says word occurs in Hipponax); Suidas; Et. Mag.; Eust 1237. 22, 1679. 33; Schol. Aristoph. Frogs 194; Hdn. 2. 656. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Poll. 4. 174-5 and 9. 81, in both cases quoting from Aristotle. 4. 174-5. οἰ Σικελιῶται τοὺς μὲν δύο χαλκοῦς διξᾶντα (MSS διζαντα, διξαντα, ἐξαντα. Bethe adopts

by Lat. quadrans, sextans, etc. This is so clearly in accord with other evidence of the early introduction in Sicily of an Italic coinage system (cf.  $\nu o \hat{\nu} \mu \mu o s$ ,  $o \hat{\nu} \gamma \kappa i a$ , and  $\lambda i \tau \rho a$  from  $* l \bar{\iota} p r \bar{a}$ , whence Lat.  $l \bar{\iota} b r a$ ), that independent derivation of  $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho \hat{a} s$  from  $* \tau \epsilon \tau \rho a - f \epsilon \nu \tau - (Brugmann-Thumb 235)$  is most unlikely.

πελεκᾶs 'woodpecker' has ντ-inflection, after the analogy of participles, in Aristoph. Birds (πελεκᾶντι 889, πελεκᾶντες 1155; cf. partic. πελεκώντων 1157). The word belongs properly with other bird-names, ἐλεᾶs, ἐλασᾶs, βασκᾶs, etc. (dat. sg. ἐλεᾶ, etc., Birds 885), and so to the colloquial type of nicknames like φαγᾶs, τρεσᾶs, χεσᾶs, etc., which are not ντ-stems (χεσᾶs, χεσᾶντοs in L. & S. is an error).

πάλλας, πάλλαντος 'νεος,' attested only by Eustathius (84. 42, 1419. 50, 1742. 37), is if genuine a variant form of πάλλαξ (cf. Mod. Gr. παλληκάρι 'young fellow, warrior').

4. Personal names.—The largest distinct group consists of the compounds in  $-\delta \dot{\alpha} \mu as$ . Several of these are most familiar as names of legendary heroes, namely the Homeric 'A-, 'A $\mu\phi\iota$ -, E $\dot{\nu}\rho\nu$ -, 'I $\pi\pi\sigma$ -,  $\Lambda a\sigma$ -,  $\Pi \sigma\nu\lambda\nu$ -,  $X\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota$ - $\delta \dot{\alpha}\mu as$ . But these, all but the last, occur also, with many others, in all over 35, as historical names. Only a few of these, as 'I $\pi\pi\sigma$ -,  $\Lambda a\sigma$ - ( $\Lambda a$ -,  $\Lambda \epsilon \omega$ -,  $\Lambda \epsilon \sigma$ -),  $\Pi \sigma \lambda \nu$ - ( $\Pi \sigma \nu \lambda \nu$ -)  $\delta \dot{\alpha} \mu as$ , are at all common, but examples of the type are widely distributed.¹ On the other hand, the compound names in  $-\phi as$  ( $-\phi a\nu$ - $\tau$ -, from

the first, which is inexplicable) καλοῦσι, τὸν δ' ἔνα οὐγκίαν, τοὺς δὲ τρεῖς τριᾶντα. 9. 81. καὶ διξᾶντα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δύο χαλκοῖ, καὶ τριξᾶντα, ὅπερ τρεῖς. The same coin is called τριᾶς in the first passage, τριξᾶς in the second. The latter is formed like διξᾶς (cf. διξός, τριξός = δισσός, τρισσός). The former occurs in Hesych. τριᾶντος πόρνη λαμβάνουσα τριᾶντα δ ἐστὶ λεπτὰ εἴκοσι. τετρᾶς Hesych. (coin and 'quadrant,' in latter sense also Vitruv.). ἐξᾶς Hesych. and Hdn. 1. 54. 17 (where the accentuation ἐξᾶς is prescribed).

<sup>1</sup> Miss Macurdy, JHS. 39. 64, comments on the overwhelmingly Trojan character of the Homeric names in  $-\delta \dot{\alpha} \mu \alpha s$ , with the exception of ' $\Delta \mu \phi_1 \delta \dot{\alpha} \mu \alpha s$ , and quotes similar names of Dardanians, Thracians, and Thessalians, as part of the evidence of "coincidence between the typical Trojan names and those which are found most commonly in the ruling tribes of the northern part of the Balkan peninsula." The general thesis is of great interest and importance, and some of the evidence may not be illusory. But in this case (and likewise for the names beginning with  $\Delta \alpha \sigma$ ) I can see no ground for asserting that the names were especially characteristic of the northern regions. For in the historical period names in  $-\delta \dot{\alpha} \mu \alpha s$ , only a few of which, as  $\Pi \sigma \nu \lambda \delta \dot{\alpha} \mu \alpha s$  in this form, are clearly due to epic influence, are quotable from all parts of the Greek world, from Thessaly to Laconia, from Corcyra to Crete and Rhodes.

φαίνω, above, p. 52) are legendary only, at least  $\Pi$ ερίφας,  $\tilde{}$ Εκφας,  $\tilde{}$ Υπέρφας, and probably also  $\Pi$ ολύφας on a Corinthian vase (SGDI. 3126). Likewise  $\tilde{}$ Ατλας,  $\tilde{}$ Ακάμας. Of the numerous uncompounded names like Aĭας, Bίας, Θόας, Φείδας, etc., the great majority are legendary or foreign.

Names which are derived from quotable verbs in  $-a\nu\omega$ , like  $\Pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}\phi as$ , etc., are:  $\Delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu as$ , ' $E\rho\dot{\iota}\beta as$  ( $\beta a\dot{\iota}\nu\omega$ ; cf. ' $E\rho\dot{\iota}-\tau\iota\mu os$ , etc.),  $K\dot{\iota}\delta as$ ,  $K\dot{\epsilon}\rho\delta as$ ,  $K\dot{a}\lambda\chi as$ ,  $O\dot{\iota}\delta as$ , ' $O\nu\dot{o}\mu as$ ,  $\Pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho as$ . For  $\Pi\rho\dot{o}\phi\rho as$  one may safely assume a \* $\pi\rho\sigma\dot{o}\rho a\dot{\iota}\nu\omega$  like  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\phi\rho a\dot{\iota}\nu\omega$ , and for some others actual verbs in  $-a\iota\nu\omega$  may have once existed. But, the type once started, such names were formed from other verbs, and from nouns, adjectives, or even adverbs, e.g.,  $\Phi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta as$  ( $\phi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta o\mu a\iota$ ),  $B\dot{\iota}as$  ( $\beta\dot{\iota}a$ ),  $\theta\dot{o}as$  ( $\theta\dot{o}os$ ),  $E\dot{\iota}as$ , epithet of Dionysus ( $\epsilon\dot{\iota}a\dot{\iota}$ ).\(^1\) A few names are merely back-formations from place-names with  $\nu\tau$  or  $\nu$ , e.g., " $A\rho as$ ,  $T\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\iota}\theta\rho as$ , reputed founders of ' $A\rho a\nu\tau\dot{\iota}a$ ,  $T\dot{\epsilon}\nu\theta\rho a\nu\dot{\iota}a$ .  $Z\dot{a}s$ ,  $Z\dot{a}\nu\tau os$ , Hdn. 2.635.26, etc., is the late hyper-Doric form of  $Z\dot{\eta}s$ ,  $Z\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\nu}s$ , with  $\nu\tau$ -inflection supplied, probably by the grammarians only, after the analogy of other names in -as,  $-a\nu\tau os$ .

Apart from the names in  $-\delta \dot{a}\mu as$ , only about a dozen in -as,  $-a\nu\tau os$  are quotable as names of Greeks in the historical period. Κύδανs (see above, p. 52) and Ένίπας (cf.  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\iota\pi\dot{\eta}$ ,  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\dot{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ ) are common names in Crete (SGDI. IV, pp. 1179, 1184), where also once Bάλλας (' $A\rho\chi$ . ' $E\phi$ . 1908, 230; nom. only, but Hdn. 2. 652. 34 gives gen. Bάλλαντοs). There are a few scattered examples of Θόαs, from Boeotia (IG. 7. 1092), Laconia (IG. 5. 1. 20 B 4), Aetolia (SGDI. 1730), Termessus (CIG. 4363, 4366t). Further, a Delphian Έρίβας (SGDI. 2757. 3; see above), a Spartan 'Ονόμας (Arr. An. 3. 24. 4), a Macedonian Κάλλας (Diod. 17. 7. 17, etc.), and Δύμας, Βρύας, 'Αθάμας in a list of "known Pythagoreans" (Iambl. vit. Pyth. 36). 'Ελέφας occurs as a personal name (cf.  $\Lambda \dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ ,  $\Delta\rho\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\nu$ , etc.) in IG. 4. 1484. 102, IG. 5. 1. 699, BCH. 29. 102, No. 3 (cf. also Polyb. 18. 24. 2).

'Αρκέσαs is a well-attested Athenian name (cf. Kirchner, Att. Prosop. Nos. 2206–8; cf. also 'Αρκέσασα IG. 2. 3510), and is clearly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is possible that some of these legendary names in -as, -aντος are hypocoristic forms of compound names, as assumed by Fick-Bechtel 374. But this is not obviously true of any, and most of them certainly belong to the category of originally simple names.

based on the aorist participle, as is ' $\Lambda\rho\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ , a common Delian name, on the present participle of the same verb. Hence, while this type is rare compared with ' $\Lambda\rho\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ ,  $\Theta\alpha\rho\rho\dot{\nu}\nu\omega\nu$ , ' $E\lambda\pi\dot{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$ , and the many others based on present participles, there is no need to regard ' $O\nu o\mu\dot{\alpha}\sigma as$ , Lys. 27. 4, as corrupt, as affirmed by Thalheim. Another example is  $T\epsilon\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\sigma as$ , which is now quotable, IG. 4. 965, without recourse to the disputed  $T\epsilon\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\sigma a\nu\tau\alpha$   $\tau\dot{o}\nu$   $\dot{\rho}\dot{\eta}\tau\sigma\rho\alpha$  Ath. 220b (so Meineke after Casaubon. Kaibel assumes a corruption). ' $\Lambda\pi\dot{\epsilon}\sigma as$ , the name of a mountain near Nemea, and of its eponymous hero, the latter written ' $\Lambda\phi\dot{\epsilon}\sigma as$  in St. Byz., has every appearance of being a similar formation, although the derivation from  $\dot{\alpha}\phi\dot{\epsilon}\sigma as$ , as in St. Byz., ignores the  $\pi$  (local psilosis not impossible) and leaves the semantic relation a series of guesses.

- 5. Ethnica.—These are nearly all names of foreign tribes, as the African 'Ατάραντες, Γαράμαντες, Βύζαντες (of which Γύζαντες, Ζύγαντες are probably corruptions), Celtic Βρίγαντες, Τρινόαντες, Italic Πικίαντες, Πευκετίαντες, Illyrian "Αμαντες, Thracian "Αβαντες, 'Οδόμαντες, and the aboriginal 'Τάντες of Boeotia. Likewise of foreign source is the group-name Κορύβαντες, Κύρβαντες, and perhaps also Γίγαντες. But 'Αφείδαντες, name of a phyle in Tegea, is clearly Greek, from the legendary 'Αφείδας.
- 6. Place-names.—A few of those listed are names of places in foreign lands, as "Aβas, Γαλάβραs, 'Ελέφαs, Κώφαs, 'Ρήβαs, Σάλγαs, Τεύθραs, or mythical, as 'Αλύβαs (probably 'Silvertown,' cf. Wackernagel, Sprachl. Unters. zu Homer 251) and 'Αλίβαs. Even most of those which belong to Greek-speaking territory are without clear etymological connection and very probably of pre-Greek origin, as the famous 'Ακράγαs and Τάραs (Κάραs, Λάραs Hdn. 2.654.15 also place-names?), the ancient Boeotian Γλίσαs,¹ the Attic deme Τείθραs,² the stream 'Ακίδαs in Triphylia, and the insignificant towns Κύφαs, Τρύγαs, Πράs, Βάβραs, 'Ακύφαs.³

Also accented Γλισᾶs, but cf. Hdn. 1. 50. 18. For Πράs, not Πρᾶs, cf. Hdn. 1. 399. 16. On the other hand, not Πέτραs (Ptol.), but Πετρᾶs, belonging with Hom. πετρήειs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Τίθρας St. Byz., but Attic inscriptions have regularly Τειθράσιοι.

<sup>3 &#</sup>x27;Apúas Erastosthenes ap. Hdn. 2. 650. 10 is another place-name, of unknown locality.

'Aκάμαs, 'Aπέσαs, ''Aτλαs, Μίμαs, Φόρβαs are identical with the names of legendary heroes. Κάλλαs, a stream in Euboea, is presumably connected with κάλλοs. 'Αστράβαs, a locality near Delphi (CIG. 1117 A 14), may be connected with ἀστράβη 'saddle' (so Pape). Λιθάμαs, a locality mentioned in an inscription defining the boundaries of certain Arcadian towns (Mnemos. 42. 332), was perhaps so called from a kind of stone found there, and I will not suppress my fancy that the name rests on a blend of λίθοs and ἀδάμαs.

7. Metaplastic forms.—Some words in -as, -aντos, mostly proper names, show forms of the masculine  $\bar{a}$ -stems, owing to the common nominative in - $\bar{a}$ s. Thus acc.  $\lambda \epsilon o \nu \tau o \delta \dot{a} \mu a \nu$  Pind. Dith. fr. 11. 584, 'Aνδροδάμαν Paus. 2. 12. 6, Σωδάμαν Paus. 6. 4. 9, gen. 'Aδάμα IG. 4. 729. 9, Καρτιδάμα IG. 12. 3. 324. 9, etc. (frequent, beside Καρτιδάμαντοs), dat. Καρταιδάμαι, SGDI. 5016. 23, acc.  $\lambda \nu \kappa \dot{a} \beta a \nu$  IG. 12. 2. 129. 8, Aἰάν and Θόαν quoted from Alcaeus and Hesiod (Hdn. 2. 649. 30), gen. Θόα SGDI. 1730, voc. Πουλυδάμα Hom. Il. 12. 231, etc., Λαοδάμα Od. 8. 141. 153, Χαρίδα Callim. ep. 15 (if really ντ-stem, as Hdn. 2. 652. 1). Conversely a few names which are usually inflected as  $\bar{a}$ -stems show also  $\nu \tau$ -forms, as ' $\Lambda \mu \dot{\nu} \kappa \lambda a s$  ( $\nu \tau$ - Hdn. 2. 653. 12), 'Ίδαs ( $\nu \tau$ - Et. M.). Some foreign names follow indifferently the  $\bar{a}$ - or the  $\nu \tau$ -inflection, e.g., Μαρικᾶs (Hdn. 2. 657. 20),  $\Phi \theta \dot{a} s$ , ' $\dot{P} \dot{\eta} \beta a s$ .

## WORD-LIST

Proper names which are to be found in Pape's Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen are cited without references.

The ethnica are given in the plural form, for convenience in distinguishing them, even when the singular is in use. Similarly Γίγαντες, Κορύβαντες, etc. But unrecognized ethnica may be concealed in some of the names in -as which occur only in the grammarians, e.g., Σατύας, Φλεγύας in Herodian (2. 650. 8), where ethnica expressly stated as such are also given in the singular form.

A few words in which  $\nu\tau$ -inflection is only sporadic or even doubtful, or which are of doubtful authenticity, are included in the list, but inclosed in parentheses.

\*Αβας [p. 58. \*Αβαντες [p. 58. λυκάβας Hom.+[pp. 54, 59. Λυκάβας (Pήβas) [p. 59.
'Αστράβas [p. 59.
Βίβas Hdn. 2. 655. 31.
ἀλίβas Plat.+[p. 55.

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κιλλίβας Aristoph.+[p. 54.	Aĭas [pp. 57, 59.
Έρίβας SGDI. 2757. 3 [p. 57.	Bίας [p. 57.
οκρίβας Plat.+[p. 53.	Δίας
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Φόρβας [p. 59.	Πικίαντες [p. 58.
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Κορύβαντες	Ποίας
Αρίσβας	Παρίας
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'Aλύβας [p. 58.	Πρίας
'Αρύβας	τριᾶς Poll., Hesych. [p. 55.
Κορύβας	Πευκετίαντες [p. 58.
Κορύβαντες [p. 58.	'Αφίας
'Ακράγας [p. 58.	πελεκᾶς Aristoph. [p. 56.
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τραπεζο- Βyz.	Δείλας
alvo- Nonn.	Xήλας Hdn. 2. 652. 19.
ἀνδρο- Callim.	('Αμύκλας) [p. 59.
	Βάλλας Hdn. 2. 652. 34, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ.
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(1δας) [p. 59.	πάλλας Eust. [p. 56. Πάλλας
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Κέρδας [pp. 52, 57.	Πολύτλας IG. 12. 9. 245 A 274.
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Παρέας	å- Hes.+
Zás [p. 57.	`A-
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Πύζας	'Αρχε-

-δάμας—	-δάμας
- SGDI. 5016. 23.	Εὐρυ-
	,
$\Delta \eta \ddot{i}$ - IG. 12. 7. 442.	•
'Αλκι-	'Αστυ-
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$\Lambda \alpha \beta \rho o$ - Mélanges gréco-rom. 1.	ãπas Hom.+
441. 3.	συν- Hdt.+
åνδρο- Pind., Pliny.	άπαξ- Hermipp.+
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<sup>2</sup> Iσο- IG. 12. 7. 83.	ἐπίπας SGDI. 4983, 5026, 5039
λεοντο- Pind.	[p. 52.
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'Αριστο- Αὐτο- SGDI. 1682. 40.	ἔμπας IG. 7. 2712. 69 [p. 52.
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$\mathbf{E} \dot{\imath} \theta v$ -	Κύπας Hdn. 2. 654. 1.
Πολυ-, Πουλυ-	*Apas

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